102
●103
64
621

[Fig. 4]

I: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
OKZO Tiwi OKZO

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20
102
103
131
133

[p. 14]

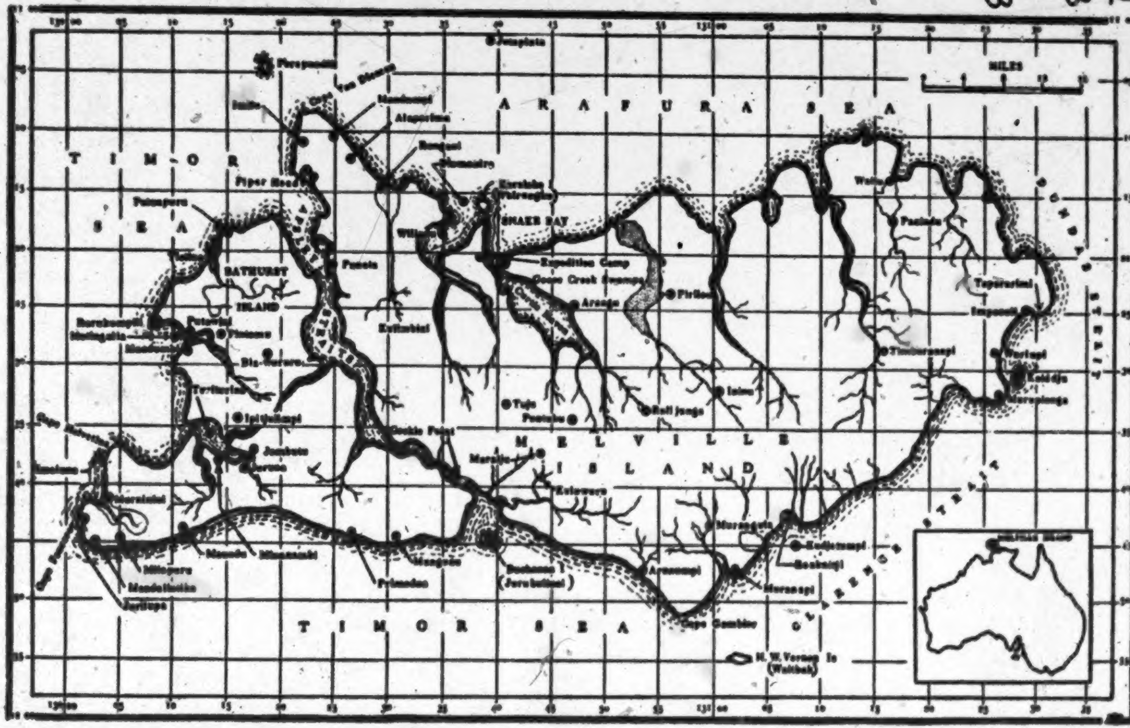


Fig. 1. *Totemic Map of Melville and Bathurst Islands*

3: Hart E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 OI20 Tiwi OI20

The territory of the *Tiklauila* is roughly contained in the area in the south of Bathurst Island, south of Point Hurd and west of *Mukambrimo*, which is a river about eight miles to the west of the mission station. In this area, roughly about two hundred square miles, there are a number of districts with specific names. Anyone familiar with the Australian blackfellow knows how certain districts are given certain names, and although no native can tell the exact boundaries, everyone in the tribe knows when he has come into one of these districts and when he has left it. The principle of differentiation of these areas seems to be upon the basis of the physical aspect of the country, a valley for example having a distinct name from either set of hills surrounding it, a plain being distinguished from a thickly-wooded piece of bushland on its margin, and so on.

These districts play an important part in Tiwi land ownership. Certain districts are not owned by the horde as a whole, but by a single family of that horde. Thus in the horde we are considering, *Tapio*, the extensive district in the extreme south-western corner of the island around Cape Fouveroy, is owned by a single set of men, all of whom are the son's sons of *Mikidjimirla*, a man who as far as can be judged died about 1870-1880. The basis of their title is the fact that *Mikidjimirla* died and was buried in the district, hence all the game and fruit in *Tapio* belong to them, and cannot be hunted or collected by anyone else without their consent.

The question immediately arises as to whether the mere burial of a man in a district gives his heirs property rights in that district. The Tiwi answer is that it always does if the man was sufficiently important. The man in question here, *Mikidjimirla*, was from all accounts one who left a deep impression on the society of his time both by his personality and by his prowess in warfare. More than that he left his mark on following generations by the number of children he had. At the present time, there are nine men, all grandchildren of *Mikidjimirla*, in whom the hunting and fruit-collecting rights of *Tapio* are vested, and these men and their families normally camp in *Tapio* and deny the right of other *Tiklauila* families to hunt there. This group has a solidarity of its own which is expressed by a name *Tapiauwila*, which is one of the alternative horde-names. It should be noted in this connection that the Tiwi name for father's father is *amini*, and the members of this group will frequently

3: Hart E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 OI20 Tiwi OI20

period is the prelude to the complete lapsing of the title to the district. 423
The prominent part played in this institution by the father's father and the 628
fact that most of the present districts held on such a title are held from the 613
father's father whereas comparatively few are held through an ancestor 685
(necessarily more remote) who has been forgotten, seems to indicate
that *yirt' amini* holdings do not last more than three generations before
they lapse for want of sufficient able-bodied men to enforce them.

It must not be imagined that the whole of Melville and Bathurst 423
Islands are divided into such holdings nor indeed that everyone in the tribe 613
belongs to such a group. The main obstacle to this lies in the self- 621
evident fact that if one's father's father dies in the territory of another
horde, as must have quite frequently have happened in the days of
marauding expeditions between hordes, there can be no such thing as a
yirt' amini holding of the district wherein he died. Moreover there are
numbers of the Tiwi whose fathers and grandfathers died young, and the
essence of the system is that the grandfather should have been old enough
to have sufficient male children and grandchildren to enforce the claim.

It can easily be seen from the above how it comes about that each
horde has a number of names, since each one of the *yirt' amini* group-names 621
is liable to be applied to the whole horde merely by adding *-ila* or *-ula* to 101
the name of the district they control.

Spencer's list of horde names is at variance with mine, because he 101
did not realize this. Out of six men of the *Tiklauwila*, one might easily 114
get six different answers to his question as to their "country," each 103
giving the name of his *yirt' amini* group. It is quite possible that the 621
horde names that are used here—*Tiklauwila*, *Munupula*, etc.—are really
yirt' amini names that have become extended to include a whole horde
either by the identification of a very powerful *yirt' amini* group with a horde
in the eyes of the rest of the tribe or by the former horde name becoming
tabu and a *yirt' amini* name being substituted. This view is strengthened
by the fact that in one or two of the hordes, the horde name is still in use
as the name of a district. Thus whereas the whole of the territory of the
Wilrayguila on the north of Melville is technically *Wilraygu*, the native
name for Karslake Island, a small portion of that territory, is *Wilraygu*.
Similarly *Malau* is a creek in the territory of the *Malauila* horde.

A man is born into the horde of his father. Should his father die and 591
his mother be taken by a member of another horde he goes with her, and [611]
WHILE THE WOMAN WILL ALWAYS BE LOOKED UPON 621
AS BELONGING TO HER FORMER HORDE, THE CHILD [768]
CHANGES HIS, TAKING THAT OF HIS STEPFATHER.